

Message Text

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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 INRE-00

AECE-00 /031 W

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O 121640Z OCT 74

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3371

S E C R E T MOSCOW 15497

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: UR, US, PARM, OEXD

SUBJECT: TTBT/PNE NEGOTIATIONS - REVIEW OF FIRST WEEK'S
MEETINGS

1. AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE FIRST WEEK'S MEETING, THE CONCERNS OF THE TWO DELEGATIONS HAVE BECOME CLEARER. THE SOVIETS APPEAR TO RECOGNIZE THAT OUR PRIMARY CONCERN IS WITH ADEQUATE VERIFICATION OF PNES UNDER ARTICLE III OF THE TTBT, WHEREAS THEY HAVE STATED THAT THEIR OBJECTIVE IS A MORE COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT WITH MINIMAL RESTRICTIONS ON PNE ACTIVITIES. IN THIS APPROACH, THE SOVIETS ARE APPARENTLY OFFERING US SOME SORT OF A PARTNERSHIP IN PNE MATTERS IN WHICH IT IS IMPLIED THAT WE WOULD THEN HAVE ALL THE INFORMATION NEEDED TO VERIFY THAT NO WEAPONS RELATED BENEFITS WERE BEING OBTAINED.

2. THEIR APPROACH TO VERIFICATION AS PRESENTED WOULD CONSIST OF PRIMARY RELIANCE ON NATIONAL MEANS FOR PNES BELOW THE THRESHOLD, AND ABOVE THE THRESHOLD INFORMATION EXCHANGE INCLUDING YIELD, PURPOSE, PLACE AND TIME PRIOR TO EVENT AND ACTUAL YIELD AND RESULTS AFTERWARD. THEY HAVE STATED THAT CONSIDERATION OF MORE EXTENSIVE INFORMATION AND OTHER ARRANGEMENTS GOING BEYOND THEIR VIEW OF ARTICLE III OF TTBT COULD ONLY BE IN CONTEXT OF BROADER AGREEMENT ON PNES.

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MOROKHOV HAS REPEATEDLY STRESSED THE NEED FOR A BROAD

AGREEMENT. IN THE EXPRESSED SOVIET VIEW, BROAD AGREEMENT WOULD INCLUDE US COOPERATION IN SOVIET PNE ACTIVITIES ON A RECIPROCAL BASIS AND THEY CLAIM THAT THIS WOULD OBTAIN THE NEED FOR OBSERVERS. THEY HAVE INDICATED THAT ARRANGEMENTS FOR COOPERATION MIGHT ALLOW THE PRESENCE OF "REPRESENTATIVES" WHICH WOULD BE CONSIDERABLY MORE ACCEPTABLE TO THE SOVIET BUREAUCRACY THAN "OBSERVERS."

3. THE SOVIETS HAVE REPEATEDLY STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE NPT GENERALLY AND ARTICLE V, IN PARTICULAR, AND THE DIRECT LINKAGE OF NPT TO ARTICLE III OF THE TTBT. THEY HAVE ALSO BEEN SOMEWHAT CRITICAL OF OUR POSITION (PARA 5, STATE 221218) AS BEING INCONSISTENT WITH THEIR UNDERSTANDING OF OUR AGENDA. IT IS NOT CLEAR AT THIS TIME WHETHER MULTILATERAL PNE PROJECTS UNDER ARTICLE V OF THE NPT ARE REALLY A PRIMARY SOVIET OBJECTIVE OR WHETHER THEY ARE SIMPLY USING NPT ARTICLE V AS AN ARGUMENT FOR PRESSING FOR THE KIND OF AGREEMENT THEY PREFER.

4. THE LIMITED CHARACTER OF SOVIET COMMENTS THUS FAR SUGGESTS THAT THE SOVIETS MAY BE ASSUMING THAT THE LIMITED TEST BAN TREATY MIGHT NOT REPRESENT A SERIOUS PROBLEM IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS. THEIR STATEMENT IS (REFTEL MOSCOW 15373) THAT PREAMBULAR LANGUAGE SHOULD REAFFIRM COMMITMENT TO THE GOALS OF THE LTBT, WHEREAS WE HAVE STATED AS A CRITERION THAT ANY PNE AGREEMENT MUST BE CONSISTENT WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE LTBT. WITHOUT FURTHER ELABORATION, THEY MIGHT ASSERT THAT OUR VIEWS ARE EQUIVALENT.
STOESSEL

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: NPT, LIMITED TEST BAN TREATY, SALT (ARMS CONTROL), NEGOTIATIONS, PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS, NUCLEAR SAFEGUARDS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 12 OCT 1974
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: shawdg
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974MOSCOW15497
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740291-0716
From: MOSCOW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19741049/aaaabpwi.tel
Line Count: 91
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 2
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: shawdg
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 12 JUN 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <12 JUN 2002 by cunninfx>; APPROVED <18 MAR 2003 by shawdg>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: TTBT/PNE NEGOTIATIONS - REVIEW OF FIRST WEEK'S MEETINGS
TAGS: PARM, OEXC, US, UR
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005